If the clan feud becomes enlarged in scope and two or more clans are united in an effort to resist the common enemy, then the able-bodied fighters of the different clans would assemble and together perform a ceremony to seal the alliance. They would kill chickens and animals, toast each other with wine mixed with blood, and swear to attack the enemy and help each other to the last man.

At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and the beginning of the Republic period, when guns were not yet brought to Liang Shan, weapons for Lolo warfare consisted of bows and arrows, poles and sticks, leather shields, long knives, stone pellets, and others. Fighting with these arms had to be done at close quarters, [86] and so it was called hsieh-tou [armed fight]. During the fight, the participants had to wear full regalia to the field to display their military pomp. Their heads were wrapped in a turban propped up like a "hero's knot." They wore silk garments ornamented with gold. Even the horses were fitted with golden saddles and silver stirrups. All these were intended to demonstrate their wealth and power to overawe the enemy.

This kind of armed fighting, however, exists in name only, since the Lolo are now accustomed to using shotguns for hitting targets beyond 100 paces. Also the fighting between clan enemies no longer requires the display of finery; instead, they have adopted the strategy of swift surprise attack, like a clap of thunder too sudden for one to cover his ears. It merely indicates that the introduction of modern technology has changed their old strategy and created a new pattern of fighting.

During the old days of armed fighting, some black Lolo woman would come to the field of battle in gay dresses and, standing between the opposing camps, would urge the two sides to stop fighting and talk peace. This woman was usually related to both clans — for example, her maternal [sic] clan on the one side and her conjugal clan on the other. According to Lolo tradition the appearance of a woman on the field would have obligated both sides to stop fighting, but if they insisted on continuing the feud, then the woman would strip herself naked by taking off her skirt and then commit suicide because of the shame. When such things happened, more kin branches and clans might become involved, the scope of the feud be enlarged, and eventually the fighting reach a stage beyond anybody's control. The importing of shotguns has changed the manner of fighting while the custom of a woman's standing between the opposing camps has all but disappeared. During his stay in

562 Liang Shan, the author learned, however, that at least in one
728 case shooting between two enemy clans came to a halt, thanks
628 to a widow's intercession. Should one of the opposite sides disregard the widow's advice, then her conjugal clan, her maternal [sic] clan, and her mother's maternal [sic] clan would unite together to attack the common enemy. Lolo tradition respects the opinion of widows. If a widow should come forward to the field, clan-feud fighting would ordinarily cease.

628 In Lolo strategy one side usually bands together and
726 makes a stealthy march without the other's knowledge to give the opponents a heavy blow. On the other hand, members of the opposite side, having contracted a feud, are also prepared for emergencies at any time. They would send someone to scout on the road and to hurry back, whenever they find anything suspicious, to relay the information to the clan which would then assemble its adults and dispatch them to resist the invasion. It has been mentioned previously that the Li-ch'ü and Pu-chi branches have been clan enemies for generations. When the author traveled in Pa-p'u, he personally witnessed a fight between these two branches. One early morning, the head of the household, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha, aroused the author from a sweet dream and said that a clan feud was being fought on the other side of the river. Immediately the author got out of bed, dressed, and rushed outside the village in the footsteps of the old black Lolo. When we reached the slope along the river bank, we saw more than a dozen persons already seated in a row and talking to each other. Among them were two of the interpreters, to whom the author complained of their failure to inform him beforehand of this very important incident. Looking down the slope, the author saw across the river more than a dozen able-bodied men with guns on their shoulders, chasing the enemy along the bank. [87] They opened fire westward at the village of Pu-chi-lai-wo, firing continuously more than a dozen shots. Then silence followed, signifying that the fighting was already at an end. As it happened, Pu-chi-lai-wo and I-lu, a village of the Li-ch'ü branch across the river, had been fighting each other repeatedly for some time. Last night[2/1] the Pu-chi clan dispatched a band of able-bodied men to lie in ambush in the mountain behind the village of I-lu. They waited until early morning when they heard the cocks crow and then opened fire on the village with the intention of attacking it so as to kill and pillage. Lolo tradition forbids midnight attack by clan enemies, who have to wait until cockcrow before they see action. This unwritten law of the Lolo has to be obeyed by all, and violators would be subject

2/1 [Errata. Should be "The night before." —Analyst.]

721 property as one's own. This becomes a social custom with the Lolo and is not regarded as a law violation. This kind of plundering is also a very common phenomenon among the Plains Indians in America where young men usually band together to make surprise raids on neighboring tribes and to rob another's property as an exercise for developing bravery and a resolute fighting spirit. Another example is the Badawin [Bedouin?] people in northern Arabia, whose fighting and plundering among the tribes themselves have become a social tradition. The Plains Indians and the Badawin are both hunting and nomadic tribes who still preserve this kind of ravaging, warlike spirit. This point can serve as circumstantial evidence to prove that the Lolo were formerly a nomadic people still preserving their original culture.

628 When enemy clans are equal in strength and power,
728 their repeated and continuous vengeance against each other may stir up a blood feud that lasts for generations. If one of the feuding clans is weak and unwilling to continue the fight, it usually urges a widow to come to the field to handle the situation or it asks some mutual friend or relative to negotiate a settlement, voluntarily making reparations or apologies to gain peace. Therefore, Lolo clan feuds are not necessarily interminable and ways exist for peaceful arbitration.

Negotiations for settling clan feuds are usually conducted by mutual friends and relatives. As mediators, they run around and negotiate peace terms acceptable to both; then a peace ceremony is performed after the agreement. As mentioned before, in the case of Li-ch'ü Ta-i and Po Ts'an-k'ai, Po's background was closely tied in with Tai-ti, daughter of the late Yang T'u-szu. The same day Tai-ti returned to Lei-po, Ta-i mustered a crowd to destroy the corn at Wang-shen P'o; the county magistrate Li, suspecting a Lolo riot, ordered Wang Yü-an to invite Li-ch'ü Ta-chi to serve together as mediators. So Wang and Li-ch'ü contacted both parties in an effort to negotiate and concluded the following terms for settlement:

1. Po Ts'an-k'ai, being the guilty party, should apologize to the black Lolo, Li-ch'ü Ta-i. According to old Lolo custom, one who makes the apology should wear a piece of gold on the head, put on a silk garment, and ride a piebald horse. Actually, this is equivalent to furnishing a complete set of a gold cap, a silk garment, and a horse as reparation gifts. Today, however, only the names remain and all these gifts can be converted into ounces of silver as an indemnity payment. Thus the indemnity items to be offered by Po Ts'an-k'ai are a piece of gold on his head equivalent in value to ten

628 ounces of silver; a silk garment equivalent to five ounces;
728 and a piebald horse equivalent to ten ounces. In other words, Po has to pay 25 ounces of silver to Ta-i as reparation for all the damages.

2. Li-ch'ü Ta-i, by offending T'u-szu's household, should pay a piebald horse, or ten ounces [89], as indemnity to Yang Tai-ti.

3. The steward Su's cornfield at Wang-shen P'o was destroyed without any justifiable reason, but it is difficult to figure out who is responsible for making the reparation. Ta-i is the one who destroyed the corn, but he did this to revenge the wrongs he had suffered and is unwilling to make any compensation. On the other hand, since Su and Po are both fellow stewards at Yang T'u-szu's household, Su does not want to accept any indemnity from Po. For these reasons, the mediators together urge the two neighboring families, A-cho Liu-liu and A-cho Hsueh-pu, who live near the fields at Wang-shen P'o, to contribute together seven ounces of silver to steward Su in the name of maintaining peace and order in the community. The two A-cho families are both former subjects of Yang T'u-szu, so after due explanation and solicitation they agree to pay the money to settle the dispute. Although seven ounces of silver are not enough to pay for the damage to the field, steward Su is willing to effect an early settlement of the clan feud to avoid further hostility between the members of the Yang household and the others.

The terms for settling Po Ts'an-k'ai's case were thus agreed upon, but they were never put into effect. When the inspection team first arrived at Lei-po, we heard immediately that Li-ch'ü Ta-i had kidnapped steward Su's son on the way and kept him at Ma-liu Wan village as a hostage. It was not until the time the author went to inspect the village that, through the negotiations of our headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, Ta-i was willing to release the boy and let him go home. The case, however, is still pending.

628 After several rounds of plundering and killing in clan-
728 feud fighting, arrangements would be made at the time of
682 reconciliation to match one death for another, black Lolo for black Lolo, and white Lolo for white Lolo. If the number of persons killed cannot be matched, then one side would have to pay the other a sum of money for the extra life it had taken in the feud. This is the so-called blood money practiced by many primitive societies. For example, in a feud between families A and B, five persons are killed in family A and three persons in family B; after cancelling out the three persons killed in

628 each family, B owes A an indemnity for the two extra lives it
728 took. A high price is paid for black Lolo and a lower price
682 for white Lolo. Besides payment, they would also try to find out the cause of the feud. If A started the feud, it has to pay B an indemnity in lieu of an apology.

628 The day on which peace is concluded, payments are made through a middleman and a ceremony is held to cele-
728 brate the peaceful settlement. Usually a mountain slope is
574 selected as the meeting place for both sides and the side which is to make the apology would kill oxen, sheep, pigs, and chickens to entertain the guests. Before the feast, they kill a chicken and drop its blood in the wine to be drunk by a representative from each side as a covenant that from now on they would resume friendly relations. After the covenant, they hold a big feast, welcoming each other with drinks, and leave only when everyone has had a good time.

614 In Lolo society, since the clan is primary in social or-
682 ganization, everybody in the clan shares the same responsi-
628 bility and obligation. The individual is a member of the clan organization. Any injury to the individual is considered an offense to the clan. So if one of its members is killed, the clan organization would come forward [90] for vengeance by killing a member of the opposite group to atone for the death. That a life is paid for by another life is an unwritten law of Lolo society. The way to enforce this law is to utilize the organization's common responsibility and the mechanism of clan-feud fighting.

614 Members of the same clan are not permitted to fight
682 feuds. Today, however, on account of the rapid growth of
627 numerous branches within the clan, there are occasionally the misfortunes of fighting and killing between different branches of the same clan. All intraclan disputes are commonly arbitrated by an influential black Lolo in the clan. In the case of a murder, Lolo tradition requires that the killer pay with his life and no indemnity money be accepted. When Li-ch'ü Ta-i accidently killed the son of Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u. In that same year, Pieh-t'u, who was Ta-i's younger uncle of the paternal clan, invited all clansmen to a meeting and to a feast for which an ox was killed. The clansmen decided that Ta-i
[762] would have to pay with his life. Reluctantly, Ta-i accepted the decision and twice attempted suicide without success. It was only after Pieh-t'u's sudden death that no one would press for the forfeit of Ta-i's life. At the same time Ta-i's wife's family, the En-cha branch, which was quite strong and influential, did not want Ta-i to pay with his life; so they came forward to negotiate

to indicate contempt for womanhood, yet on the other hand, the social custom of the Lolo demands that special respect be shown to their women. In a family the man has unsurpassed power in name yet it is often the woman who has real authority--again a resemblance to the West and a departure from Chinese tradition. These inconsistencies are really quite amusing. A Heh-I, for example, may be contemptuous of the Wa-tzu, but he is always more polite to the female Wa-tzu. During relentless blood-feud fighting, a Heh-I woman may bring about a temporary truce by dashing into the midst of the enemy warriors and swinging her skirt. The continuation of fighting thereafter would be such an insult to the female truce-maker that she may even commit suicide. In this case the enmity between the two camps becomes even greater. It should be noted that this woman need not be a disinterested party, but may belong to one of the opposing camps. Unable to endure any longer the heavy losses, she may take up this responsibility on her own initiative. Mr. Hsü Hsiao-hui once related to us an amusing incident illustrating the respect in which women are held in Liang-shan and the influence they enjoy. During a trip in that region he and his companions arrived at a place where it was necessary to change protectors--a function customarily performed by a man (mostly the head of the family). Unfortunately all the men were out at the moment, and their only recourse was to engage as protector one of the three women left at home. At first Mr. Hsü deplored the situation, for a brave and strong man could at least put up a fight should they encounter danger. But later he was surprised at the special courtesy along the way when the party was seen accompanied by a Heh-I woman; thus they avoided many difficulties and received many unexpected favors.

The Lolo of Liang-shan also have a code of etiquette. They have definite seats around the kuo-chuang while entertaining guests at home. The guest of honor is seated near the back wall and other guests are placed on the side to his right. Regardless of the number of guests, they can sit only on these two sides. The host's place is on the side to the left of the guest of honor, and that of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu and slave girls is directly across. /115/ By nature the I are silent and dislike clamor; even a group of several tens of them never become boisterous with loud shouting. They are usually soft-spoken and not allowed to sneeze during meals. These good habits which the Chinese lack resemble Western customs. Of all impolite actions they consider breaking wind in the presence of others the most disrespectful. Eliminations are however not forbidden and may be most conveniently

000 to the same branch).

578 The relationship between the yüan chia is the very opposite of that between the ch'in chia. The Lolo have little education and culture; they are avaricious, quarrelsome and difficult to appease. An insignificant dispute--such as over a needle or thread--will make them yüan chia for generations. Even a one-time relative is liable to become an enemy, particularly if one of the married parties has already passed away. Neighbors who are enemies draw distinct boundary lines and maintain strict measures of defense. Each side is cautious and will not trespass upon the territory of the other under any circumstance. Otherwise the enemy can do with the intruder as it wills, even bringing about his death.

728 The Lolo make enemies easily but are reconciled with difficulty. Once enemies, two I branches remain enemies for generations and centuries, and no peace is possible between them except for a temporary truce. This type of mutual hatred and killing is very detrimental to the increase in birthrate among the I of Liang-shan. Peace is not attained even after cessation of actual warfare, since some slight incident may cause fighting to break out again at any moment. Both sides then summon their families and relatives--sometimes as many as ten branches--to fight with them, and thus spread bloodshed on a large scale. Only when both camps are exhausted and have inflicted irreparable losses on one another will fighting automatically cease, but as strength is regained, they will once more seek satisfaction for the wrong done. A cessation of hostilities may also be brought about through the effort of a Heh-I woman, as explained above, or through the mediation of a Chinese official. Yet regardless of the method employed to effect a truce, their enmity remains and will never be ended; it will burst forth again at the first opportunity. In regions close to the Chinese sphere of influence, there have been innumerable cases of Lolo people who have joined the Chinese in order to deal with their own enemies or who strive to appeal to the Chinese officials by slandering their enemies. These may be regarded as crooked ways of "fighting a blood-feud," and ought not to be encouraged. Such occurrences are still rare in the I region of Liang-shan, although "blood-feud fighting" (i.e. enemies fighting each other in opposite camps) is something which will continue to happen. /118/ In the event of the development of Liang-shan in the future, special attention should be paid to educating the Lolo, to be liberal and forgiving, not to develop hatred easily, and always to strive to dispel that hatred.